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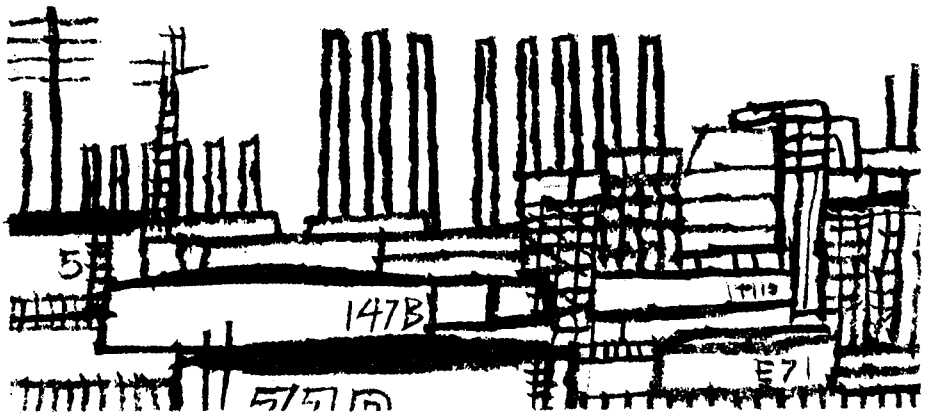

GREAT SOCIETY PRIORITIES

Seymour Melman

CARDINAL AND COMMISSAR

Adolph Schalk

BLACK POWER

Frank Millspaugh

THE CHICAGO RIOTS

Bruce Cook

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Milton Himmelfarb, in *Commentary:* "The First Amendment does not command, 'Thou shalt not give governmental aid to parochial schools,' it commands that there shall be no establishment of religion and no curtailment of the free exercise of religion. The rabbis said that the gates of interpretation of the Torah are not closed, and the Supreme Court has shown that neither are the gates of interpretation of the Constitution closed. If the justices think the nation needs education more than separationism, they can easily decide that the Constitution permits aid to non-public education. If they think otherwise, then it is the turn of the gates of amendment not to be closed. . . .

"This kind of talk is hardly daring any more, but to most separationists it is novel and perverse wickedness. That is not liberal openmindedness. It is more like the rage of a 19th-century Herbert Spencer liberal confronted with the immoral proposal that the government should take taxes from him to support a school for educating his neighbor's children. There are still such liberals, only for many years now they have been called, by general agreement, reactionaries."

•

Citizens for Educational Freedom, which lobbies for aid to students in parochial schools, has chosen as its new slogan: "Unleash the giant." The giant is "the vast army, many millions strong, of parents who send their children—or would like to—to independent schools across the land. The bonds that hold back the giant from taking his natural place in our democracy are misinformation, ignorance, unjust laws, and, above all, apathy."

•

Wrestling with ecclesiastical fears in Chicago: The latest harassment of Michael Novak involves a refusal by the Archdiocese of Chicago to grant an imprimatur for a printed collection of speeches delivered by various speakers at Mundelein College. An imprimatur was offered for all but the Novak talks, which the speaker describes as "perfectly innocent."

•

Ashley Montagu, the Clifton Fadiman of anthropologists, thinks that outbreeding the non-Catholics is an official part of Catholic doctrine. At a recent symposium in Boston he offered this gem: "Superstition, ignorance, fear, poverty, and sheer machiavellianism constitute formidable barriers in the way of population control. But they can be overcome. The Catholic Church and the Communists, for much the same reasons, have opposed birth control. . . . Official Catholic doctrine is that population control must be left to non-Catholics in a breeding contest in which Catholics will emerge victorious. It is not an accident that the birth rate in such regions as Latin America is so highly correlated with the power structure and dominance of the Catholic Church. But fortunately not all Catholics follow official policy . . ." Etc., etc.

•

It Had to Happen (from the *Realist*): On March 19th the Pope relaxed the rules on mixed marriages, and on March 21st, the Irish-Catholic (N.Y.) *Journal-American* and the Anglo-Saxon Protestant (N.Y.) *World Telegram & Sun* announced their long-rumored plans to merge.

•

Two clarifications:

*Caltex Oil has sent us a note officially denying a report in the *Economist* and reprinted here (May 27) that it is involved in attempts to break the oil blockade of Rhodesia.

*Thomas Melady, the African expert, has protested that his recent speech at Manhattan College did not call for the excommunication of racist Catholics, as carried by a leading news service and reprinted here under the headline "The Excesses of Liberals" (July 1). On checking the text, we agree he has been a victim of bad reporting, and apologize for our part in reprinting it.

•

The national *Newman Bulletin*, which apparently serves as a parish bulletin for all subscribing Newman Clubs, has managed to make support for the war in Vietnam a requirement of Christian love. The pertinent section follows: "It is true that Vietnam is not a popular conflict. It is true that members of a democracy have a right to voice their opinions, even in opposition to the majority. Yet it is also true that they must have faith—human faith—in the leaders they have chosen to represent us. . . . The life of the Christian is based on love. Love requires sacrifice. . . . The very nature of sacrifice may not allow us to pick and choose how we are willing to sacrifice. In the Vietnam situation, a whole nation is asked to sacrifice. Individuals as well must add their sacrifices —that is, if we *love* our country and our freedom."

The next voice you hear will be that of a Newman chaplain wondering why so many students are alienated from the Church while on campus.

•

The Great Society: Nation's Business magazine reports, with some enthusiasm, on the new riot control weapons that will soon be available to police. They include two or three that induce temporary blindness (including a new gas that seals the eyelids); an audio note of 12 to 14 cycles per second that induces a sort of instant psychic trauma; a tear-gas additive that produces vertigo and vomiting that last up to two hours; and, in the planning stage, a low-vibration sound which would resonate the human viscera and affect the colon—in other words, it would produce the equivalent of a mass attack of uncontrollable dysentery. The author, Robert Zacks, after getting in a last plug for electric-shock batons, explains that since temporary discomfort is preferable to shooting and clubbing. the new weapons are truly humane, and represent "democracy's answer to this problem."

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

War on Poverty

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: I have seen lots of sloppy writing on the poverty program, but I think that Sidney Lens [July 1] deserves some kind of prize. This may sound like a cruel indictment, but Lens either knows better or should know better. Either way, he should not rush to print with his ignorant, confused, and unprofessional evaluation.

There are things wrong with the program. And we haven't been embarrassed or afraid to discuss them publicly. I have said frequently that the war against poverty is not good enough or big enough. We have had some failures; we have made some mistakes; we have raised expectations that could not be fulfilled. We plead guilty to being so enthusiastic, so motivated, so impatient, that we have less than a tidy shop and we have added to people's impatience. Some good projects have not yet been funded. Some people haven't gotten answers to their letters or telephone calls yet.

But what's *not* wrong with the program is that we are "just another form of handout." This is Lens' conclusion at the end of a contradictory article—a conclusion based, in his own words, on what "one JOIN leader" said to him.

There are two profound ironies in this conclusion. First, most of our problems (in the public press) stem from the fact that we *refuse* to be a handout program, since that is not and should not be the purpose of our program. Thus, we get lots of gripes over the proportion of our funds going to salaries of poverty workers "instead of going to the poor." That's simply because we are providing services to people, not cash assistance, which will help them individually (training, counseling, etc.) and collectively (community organization, legal assistance, consumer information, legal services, etc.) to get *out* of poverty—not services designed to ameliorate the worst hardships of poverty. We leave such welfare services to other programs. Moreover, the

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AGAIN, SCHOOL AID

An innocent bystander might well be forgiven for thinking that the nasty Church-State fights of the past are now over. After all, a Catholic was finally elected to the Presidency in 1960, the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 permits the use by private schools of publicly-owned textbooks, some poverty program monies are being allocated to church organizations, the *New Republic* has come out in favor of some governmental aid to religious schools, and Gallup polls have shown an increasing number of Americans favoring government aid to religious schools. The innocent bystander would have much favorable evidence to buttress his impression.

But the old horse, though nearly bored to death, is not quite dead. In the July 13 issue of *The Christian Century*, Leo Pfeffer, special counsel to the American Jewish Congress, raises once again the time-honored specter of a Catholic raid on the public treasury. The occasion for his invocation is the forthcoming 1967 constitutional convention in New York. At that time, he is certain, "the Catholic Church" will make a concerted attempt to overthrow the existing provision of the state constitution that no public funds "directly or indirectly" be provided religious schools. If the Church is successful, he argues, "it may well spell the beginning of the end of . . . Church-State separation in New York. . . . [and] if New York retreats . . . it can be expected that so too will many other states." As evidence of Catholic ambitions, he cites an *America* editorial of May 7, 1966 calling for a removal of the New York constitutional restriction. At precisely the opposite pole, Milton Himmelfarb argues in the July issue of *Commentary* that "Catholics . . . have a real grievance [concerning the lack of broad government aid to parochial schools]. To remove the grievance would be just. It would also be statesmanlike, and would help to improve the education of a significant part of the American population."

The spectacle of two distinguished Jewish thinkers taking such opposed positions leaves us in something of a quandary. On the one hand, we can sympathize with Mr. Pfeffer's fear that full, direct government aid to parochial

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schools might well have a damaging effect on the public school system, especially in heavily Catholic states. We also have many doubts that such a (conceivably) full-fledged breaching of Church-State separation would be a healthy development. Yet on the other hand, we firmly believe, with Mr. Himmelfarb, that a dogmatically separationist mentality, maintained at whatever the cost to other social values, does a disservice to pluralism and the common good.

At least two additional points, however, need to be introduced into the discussion initiated by Messrs. Pfeffer and Himmelfarb. First, it is extremely doubtful that "the Catholic Church" to which Mr. Pfeffer refers will be nearly so monolithic in its ambitions as he thinks. No doubt diocesan bureaucracies and some harassed bishops will try in the future to get every penny they can from state and federal governments. But as the recent New York debate on divorce law changes indicated, the statements of diocesan officials do not necessarily reflect the views of all Catholics. Many Catholics, we suspect, would in fact oppose any attempt to gain large-scale funds.

Secondly, while we agree with Mr. Himmelfarb's rich philosophy of pluralism, we doubt whether this is a good historical moment in the life of the American Church for the schools to receive a sudden financial transfusion. Such aid might well curtail the important efforts now going on to see if some means of religious education other than the traditional schools could be more effective. In short, it is fitting that non-Catholics should be re-examining their traditional hostility to government money for religious schools. But it is no less fitting that the Church should thoroughly re-examine its commitment to the schools.

CODY ON NEGRO RIGHTS

The riots this summer in the Negro ghettos of Chicago, Cleveland and Brooklyn were not products of a seasonal discontent. The words "long hot summer" do not convey the misery of a cold winter in a slum tenement, or the hustle 52 weeks a year against increasing odds to make a decent life. In the ghettos the words Black Power are gaining currency because it is found that white sympathy is not enough. The riots are saying the same thing: sympathy is not enough, the laws are not enough, non-violence is not enough, Negro leadership is not enough, the Great Society is not enough, welfare is not enough, hope for a better future is not enough, menial labor is not enough, sacrifice, faith, charity, all words, and words are not enough.

In Chicago Archbishop Cody's strong words in support of Martin Luther King's fight for Negro rights in the city were welcomed by the civil rights forces and we hope by most Catholics. They showed not only a genuine concern for the Negro's plight in Chicago, but also that serious thought has been given to the ways real change can be effected. Politically perhaps the most important item in his statement was the demand that real estate boards "support open occupancy laws." The Archbishop also said that the archdiocese has inserted fair-employment clauses in every contract between its institutions and suppliers. This action has long been needed, not only in the Chicago archdiocese but in many dioceses throughout the country, and we hope these others will follow suit. The Archbishop went on to urge both Catholics and the community at large not to practice discrimination; he particularly mentioned discrimination in housing transactions and trade union membership.

The Archbishop's words were the strongest yet to come from a member of the hierarchy, and they were welcome. But before the week was out, Chicago's Negro west side erupted into its latest riot. Words were not enough, neither Archbishop Cody's nor those of Dr. King, who walked the streets of the Negro district trying to bring calm. Both men know this, and know that what happens from here on out will depend on the changes only action can bring about.

THE NEW CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Nationally, civil rights is undergoing another wearing Congressional ordeal for small, and perhaps non-existent gains. At stake is legislation to end racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing and protect civil rights workers and Negroes from acts of violence while exercising their constitutional rights. These are Titles IV and V of the Administration's current civil rights bill.

Title IV has come under the purview of the National Association of Real Estate Boards which wants it amended to exempt from the provisions the sale of one-family houses and the rental of buildings containing four apartments or less and in which the owner is resident. Not only would this exception leave two-thirds of the nation's housing outside the scope of the law, but inasmuch as the law will not affect the vast majority of Negroes who cannot afford suburban prices, the social pressure of large numbers needed to achieve integration will be all but lost. Such an amendment leaves the situation less satisfactory than no law at all.

Fortunately, Attorney-General Katzenbach has taken the initiative to advise Congress that such an amendment would affect only owners who did the selling or renting themselves. A real estate broker would not find protection under the law to follow instructions of the owner to discriminate. Since most property transactions are handled by brokers, the force of the amendment presumably would be voided. But even so, the amendment should not be regarded lightly. Unnecessary complexities in law almost surely guarantee loopholes, and at best this amendment will make it more difficult for victims of discrimination to insure their legal rights.

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Title V is endangered by the Senate Judiciary Committee's insertion of the word "legally" into an otherwise sound law. Civil rights workers and Negroes are protected from violence only when exercising their constitutional rights *legally*. In the South legality has been the major instrument used to harass civil rights activity and to permit acts of violence against Negroes. Parading without a permit or trespassing on public property, both technicalities, leave Negroes open to beatings with clubs or attacks by police dogs.

Although we hope the civil rights bill is passed, it should be remembered that it is only extending rights that are constitutionally guaranteed to all Americans. Many of these rights would more properly be protected by Executive action, and it is worth remembering that the bulk of the housing Title will be meaningless to impoverished Negroes. By asking Congress, in effect, to re-ratify certain provisions of the Constitution, the President apparently hopes to gain some psychological advantage over the forces of prejudice in this country. It should be emphasized, however, that the failure to enact satisfactory legislation, including the present bill, will not be an acceptable alibi for Executive inaction. So far President Johnson's courage in the halls of Congress and the jungles of Vietnam has yet to manifest itself in the streets and neighborhoods of this nation.

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FROM CALIFORNIA

The Court vs. the voters on open housing

If Finley Peter Dunne were still around, he might have to take another look at his barbed observation about Supreme Court decisions following the latest election returns. Recent court rulings have aroused so much controversy that the point now being debated by students of the judiciary is whether the justices are undermining their own authority by outrunning public opinion.

The situation is by no means confined to the highest tribunal. Recently the California Supreme Court declared Proposition 14 unconstitutional. The proposition, an initiative referendum nullifying the state's fair-housing laws, specifically the Unruh and Rumford Acts, had been approved by a two-to-one voter margin. In throwing out the measure, the state court has revived the bitterly contested "open housing" issue.

Attempts to enact fair-housing legislation in California have always had rough sledding. A breakthrough was made in 1959 when Jesse Unruh, now speaker of the state's lower house of the legislature, succeeded in winning legislative passage for a bill prohibiting discrimination in publicly assisted housing and in business establishments.

Spokesmen for the state's minority groups, however, contended that while the Unruh legislation was a step in the right direction it did little to break the pattern of segregated housing that was turning the older, dilapidated sections of many California cities into ghetto slums. What was needed, they maintained, was legislation covering privately financed housing and also a state agency with power to enforce the proposed legislation. This was accomplished by the Rumford Act, passed over the strong opposition of real estate salesmen, tract developers and owners of rental property.

The California Real Estate Association, however, an organization of 45,000 members, immediately launched a campaign to get enough voter signatures to put a referendum on the November, 1964, ballot to repeal the act. The realtors succeeded, and in one of the most bitter election campaigns in state history managed to pile up more than 4,500,000 votes for Proposition 14.

Test cases soon followed. On May 10, the California Supreme Court ruled in the Santa Ana case of Lincoln W. Mulkey vs. Neil Reitman that Proposition 14 violated the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution. The net effect of the court's action is to reinstate the state's fair-housing laws: the Rumford Act.

Proponents of Proposition 14 immediately petitioned the court for a hearing. The petition was denied, but the court filed a new opinion clarifying the effect of its decision on the owners of single-family dwellings who receive no public assistance or whose activities in the real estate market do not constitute a business.

This was necessary because of the plethora of confused and incendiary statements the court's decision has aroused. There were those like the state senator, a member of the John Birch Society, who circulated the line that the court was out to destroy the right of private property as part of the Marxist conspiracy. There was another state senator who demanded the recall of the five justices who voted against the proposition. Then there was the owner of the Los Angeles apartment complex who told his tenants in a circular that the court's action would "expose you and your family to the type of neighbor unacceptable to decent people . . . even dope addicts and drunks."

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice, COMMONWEAL will again appear on alternate weeks from the middle of July to the middle of September. Forthcoming issues will be dated August 19, September 2, and September 16. From then on, we will resume our normal weekly schedule.

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In the electioneering for Proposition 14, a clever—and it proved to be highly effective—campaign was waged to convince the individual that the Rumford Act gives a bureaucratic agency the authority to tell a homeowner to whom he must rent or sell his home. Actually the law is quite reasonable. It applies only to public and redevelopment housing; apartments in buildings of four or more units; persons or firms engaged in the business of housing, including mortgage-lending institutions.

The central fact that was obscured by the proposition's proponents, however, was that no property owner covered by the law is obliged to lower his standards of selection among prospective buyers or tenants. He need never accept an undesirable or fiscally unqualified tenant or purchaser. The law requires him only to refrain from treating any person differently because of his religion, race or ancestry. And the law is enforceable only through the courts, with the Fair Practices Commission acting only to initiate litigation after investigating the validity of the complaint. The burden of proof that discrimination is involved rests clearly on the complainant.

It is interesting to note that in the 15 months of the Rumford Act's legal existence, homeowners have been involved in only about two per cent of the discrimination complaints. Not a single case has gone to court; most have been settled through conciliation. No property owner has been fined and no one has gone to jail. It is also worth noting that more than 96 per cent of the complaints have involved persons or firms engaged in housing as a business. This explains why the California Real Estate Association is so determined to press the issue.

In announcing the CREA's decision to appeal the state court's ruling to the United States Supreme Court, Burt E. Smith, president of the association, said, "Someone must fight to uphold the expressed will of the four-and-a-half million voters who approved Proposition 14, so we're doing it. . . . Even though the Supreme Court has a liberal attitude and will look at it from a constitutional viewpoint, it is made up of people. The fact that four-and-a-half million people voted for it will have some impact."

The Supreme Court's decision in the California case will have national repercussions. Seventeen states have fair-housing laws, most of them similar to the Rumford Act. If the CREA position is upheld, other affiliates of the National Real Estate Association can be expected to challenge the constitutionality of their state laws. More important, however, is the effect that the decision will have upon the embattled "open housing" provision of the Johnson Administration's civil rights bill currently before Congress.

LAWRENCE T. KING

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TELLING AND SHOWING

THE CHICAGO RIOTS

During Dr. Martin Luther King's impressive Freedom Rally held on July 10 at Soldiers' Field in Chicago, an incident took place which all the reporters there witnessed but none bothered to mention in the stories filed on the event. Because of a security goof in the otherwise well-run press box, four Negro boys from a west-side gang managed to crash the party and were suddenly in the midst of the assembled representatives of the press, radio, and television, calling in rather loud, insistent voices for attention.

What did they say? Not much, according to the notes I jotted down at the time: "We came up to tell these reporters about what Black Power is," they announced, "what it really means." They stayed to argue noisily with the Rally's public relations staff for a chance to talk. "We want to tell it like it is," they said. "Let us on that thing" —pointing to a radio microphone. "We want to tell it like it is." As a matter of fact, they did get on the radio for a moment, but found themselves suddenly struck dumb with stage-fright. Showing, they said, would be better.

It seemed not really worth mentioning at the time. In spite of the presence of Black Power counterpickets and the fact that the turnout for Dr. King was only about half of his announced expectations, the atmosphere at the Rally was almost optimistic—or if not that, at least strongly hopeful. And why not? The whole program shaped up as Dr. King's answer to those who advocate—or even allow—violence to achieve Negro rights.

Dr. King was more than eloquent: he spoke the truth temperately and reasonably and drew his greatest applause from the largely-Negro audience when he denounced Negro separatists who promote hatred of all whites. "There exists a substantial group of white Americans who cherish principles above privilege and who have demonstrated a will to fight with the Negro against injustice." And then to great cheers he called off the roll of those white people who have died in the civil rights struggle—James Reeb, Schwerner and Goodman, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo—and one who almost died, "Father Morrisoe of this city."

Floyd McKissick, director of CORE, put in an appearance and talked far more moderately than he has lately on other occasions. He defined Black Power purely in economic and political terms, leaving the impression that he would be shocked at the suggestion that Negroes engage in anything more violent than a selective buying campaign. Even though it was not possible to take him

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completely seriously in this, his appearance at the rally was encouraging. It gave the impression that yes, what we had suspected all along was certainly correct: Dr. King *is* the strongest personality in the rights movement and perhaps in the end he would prevail over McKissick, Carmichael, and the rest by the strength of his personality alone.

Perhaps the most encouraging development during the Rally, however, was the statement of what amounted to a new and firm stand on civil rights taken by Archbishop John Patrick Cody for the Archdiocese of Chicago. Because Bishop Cody was out of the country, his message was read by Auxiliary Bishop Aloysius Wycislo. It set out a number of specific steps that had either just been taken by the Archdiocese or were soon to be taken. Among these were the insertion of fair employment clauses in all diocesan building contracts; the planning of new, low-cost housing developments under Church sponsorship; and the initiation of a new employment program to create 7,000 new jobs in cooperation with other Churches in Chicago. Bishop Cody also supported Dr. King's Freedom Movement with a pastoral letter read from diocesan pulpits on the morning of the Rally.

In all, it was a jubilant, rather than a defiant, crowd that marched out of Soldiers' Field that Sunday afternoon, along a route cordoned off by police, and on to an empty City Hall where Dr. King taped the Chicago Freedom Movement's list of 35 demands to the door. The demands, most of which have to do with open housing and the improvement of educational and economic opportunities for Negroes in the city, are reasonable and in no way excessive. If this is not the prevailing opinion, it is certainly the prevailing opinion among those who have actually read the demands. These include the editors of the two Field-owned newspapers in town, the *Sun-Times* and *Daily News*, which strongly supported the demands in editorials that followed their publication.

A meeting took place the following day between Dr. King and Mayor Daley, a meeting that surprised everyone by going quite suddenly sour. The Mayor became defensive and kept insisting afterward in a press conference that Dr. King simply did not appreciate what Chicago (that is, what Mayor Daley) had actually done for the Negro. That night at a Negro Baptist church on the west side, Dr. King had an audience walk out on him. He had lost great face in the Negro community, and those present chose this way to demonstrate it to him. And the next day, Tuesday, July 12, another group chose another way to demonstrate it—and Chicago's west side riots began.

Officials were reluctant in the beginning to call them riots—and for good reason. For one thing, they had started over nothing at all, or nearly that. On a very hot day, kids in one of the poorest sections opened up a fire hydrant to cool off, just as kids do in cities everywhere. This is against the law. The two policemen who came to shut off the hydrant were more abusive than they needed to be. ("How come when you standing on a corner and a cop wants you to move, he has to curse you and talk mean and tough and call you nigger?" one boy asked me.) The kids answered the abuse with stones and bricks lying close at hand, a few older ones joined in, and then a few more, and the show was underway.

Two things stand out most clearly about these riots, two things that make them different from any others that have taken place in Chicago. First of all: the extreme youth of those who took part. From the beginning, it was the children who kept things going—gang boys inflated with the *machismo* of the disadvantaged, goaded by irritation, boredom and a sweeping, unfocused resentment against all authority. They broke the windows of white shopkeepers and threw anything that was handy—rocks, bricks, or bottles filled with gasoline—at the police. As one police sergeant put it, "This isn't a riot, it's a juvenile uprising!"

And secondly, this: the riots spread more quickly than any other the city has known, and they covered a greater area. In less than 24 hours the whole west side had gone up—an area of some 600 square blocks. And on the night fighting between rioters and police was most intense (Thursday, July 14), it was far heavier than the rest of the country—and the rest of Chicago—then realized. One confirmed estimate put the number of shots exchanged at one corner alone in the Lawndale section at 1,000. In all, two were killed, 30 wounded, and hundreds injured.

What stopped the riots was the National Guard, and nothing else. Dr. King and his people worked almost without sleep for three days and nights, trying to cool things—with absolutely no success. Finally, with desperation apparent on both sides, Mayor Daley met again with Dr. King and agreed to three altogether new demands—sprinklers on the hydrants, more swimming pools, and the beginnings of a police review board.

None of these, of course, has anything to do with the real cause of the riots. What did cause them? Not, as Mayor Daley charged, the presence of Dr. King and his staff in Chicago (when he talks of "outsiders" who come in to stir things up, he sounds—and even looks—like a Southern sheriff).

The west side caused the riots. Out there are all the symptoms of the disease known as poverty, all too familiar by now to require enumeration. As rapidly as the riots spread over the whole misery-ridden west side area, they did *not* spread to the older Negro ghetto on the south side. Why? Because there, where Martin Luther King's influence is far greater, Negroes live who have at least attained a certain minimal level of economic respectability. Their problems can be talked about. But on the west side they seem to have decided that showing is better. It may take more words than Dr. King has to persuade them otherwise. BRUCE COOK

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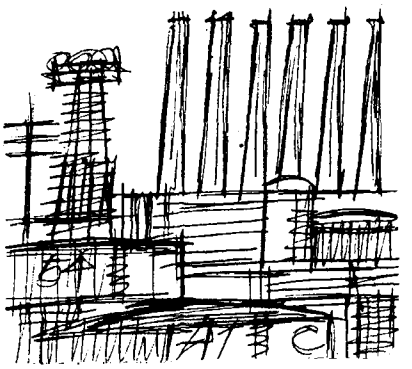
GREAT SOCIETY PRIORITIES

War, peace and the managerial bent

SEYMOUR MELMAN



The myth of the United States as an "affluent society" is dead. The nation now must face the stern reality of the economic priorities problem: making a choice about what comes first. This is an unfamiliar idea to many Americans, for we have long been taught that the United States is rich enough to afford whatever it wants to do.

Only a year ago, Dr. Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, told us that there is no need to choose between guns and butter as a result of the war in Vietnam. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara placed the prestige of his office behind the public declaration that the United States is an affluent society and can afford as much defense and space spending as it wishes to have.

By January 1966 an unfamiliar drama was being enacted in Washington. It was budget time, and the President, with his aides, was seeking ways of reducing nonmilitary expenditures so that the priority military budget and Vietnam war operations could be funded at expected levels. The main casualty of the budget pruning was the whole gamut of social investments for human betterment, from "war on poverty" to fulfillment of the so-called "Great Society" program.

The Administration requests for housing, health care, and education did not even meet by as much as 10 percent the additional national expenditures needed to bring the work in these areas up to decent standards. New research projects in the biological and physical sciences were scheduled for a cut of about one-third. The budget cutting extended to the school milk program, where the White House ordered (and the Congress restored!) an 80 percent cut from last year's spending of about $110 million. Lyndon Johnson, literally, tried to finance a part of his war in Vietnam by taking milk out of the mouths of children!

What was the reason for this unprecedented zeal by the federal government for cutting civilian spending? The principal clue is given in the following brief summary of the main Great Society budget priorities. The ordinary military budget for the next year is to be about $50 billion. The Vietnam war is approaching a cost of $24 billion a year. The space race to the moon now requires $5 billion per year. These budget items total $79 billion a year—more than three-fourths of our tax payments—and leaves very little for everything else.

The U.S. Gross National Product (GNP) is now somewhat more than $725 billion a year. Nevertheless, while the United States is rich, it is not infinitely rich. Our enormous GNP tends to overshadow the fact that an important part of this money is payment for economically parasitic activity rather than for productive growth. Military and space work is paid for, but yields a product which cannot be used for further production or as part of the current level of living. By this functional test military work is parasitic since it only uses up manpower and materials. The contrast is productive growth: producing goods or services that can be used for further production or for the present level of living. A printing press multiplies its worth many times over in its products.

The concentration of skilled brains and hands in the United States on parasitic growth explains why Watts explodes while the growth of GNP is celebrated in Washington. Although the Gross National Product rises, the number of physicians in private practice per thousand of our population has been declining. A Medicare bill is passed

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but cannot be fulfilled because the doctors and nurses to do it simply do not exist. The nation needs about 150 medical schools for a decent level of health care: 13 new medical schools have been budgeted in the whole country.

While the GNP has been rising, the number of slum dwellings in New York City has been increasing year by year.

While the GNP grows, important parts of U.S. civilian industry are becoming obsolete because of inadequate re-equipment and modernization. (For a general analysis of the depletion process see S. Melman, *Our Depleted Society.*)

While the GNP has been rising, largely because of government outlays for economically parasitic work, the international value of the dollar is being jeopardized by sustained out-flow of Treasury gold to pay for military operations abroad.

At the very time that the GNP rises, 21 major cities are named in an official report as probable sites of Watts-type rebellions.

What is the effect of the repeated claim, by Administration spokesmen and apologists, that we can have both guns and butter because we are an "affluent society?" This myth serves as a cover, as a smoke screen, for the operation of a power-extending managerial complex in the federal government.

The Politico-Managerial Complex

Traditionally, the chiefs of the federal government Executive branch have been political officials whose relationship to the rest of us as citizens has been governed by the system of laws and due process based upon the Constitution of the United States. But the same officials of the federal government now relate to the American people as the managers of the largest economic decision-making unit in the land. The combination of the managerial relationship of employer to employee, and political relationship of government to citizen, in the hands of the same people, is without precedent in the history of the United States.

The federal government now employs directly 5.7 million people (2.6 million civilians and 3.1 million in the armed forces). The federal Executive controls the work of 8 million other Americans—employees of nominally private enterprises under federal managerial control. This means that the economic lives of 13 million Americans in government and in industry are now controlled directly by the top managers who head the federal Executive.

Numbers alone understate the importance of these 13 million Americans, for they include more than half of the research engineers and scientists of the nation, and a large block of highly-skilled people in all other occupational classifications. As a result, the top managers of the federal Executive now control one of the largest single blocks of economic/industrial resources in the world.

In various theories of industrial capitalist society, government has been described as favoring or identifying with business management. These theories require fundamental revision, for the federal government is now, itself, the biggest of big business management, ruling over the largest single enterprise in the land. *Like other big business managements, the chiefs of the state managerial complex strive to maintain and extend their decision power—by enlarging the activity, the number of employees, the size of the capital investment, and by ruling over more and more subsidiary managements.*

This understanding of the mode of operation of the state managerial complex goes a long way to explain behavior that otherwise is inexplicable. Spending $24 billion a year for operating the Vietnam war is difficult to explain via classical theories about overseas behavior of government in regard to protecting trade or investments. There is no present or predictable trade or investment pattern, either in Vietnam or in nearby countries, which could justify an annual expenditure of as much as $24 billion a year. Neither can this huge outlay be explained simply as a result of long standing cold-war rivalries. This enormous outlay of money and manpower, however, becomes more intelligible if interpreted as a contribution to extending decision power. For the war in Vietnam extends the decision power of the U.S. state managerial complex abroad while also affording fresh opportunities for extending the scope and intensity of economic and other controls at home. Thus, the federal government's "guidelines" policy enables the Executive branch—without an Act of Congress or Executive Order, and without any form of due process—to regulate wages, prices, civilian capital investment, and the flow of capital abroad. A seizure of decision power of this scope is without precedent in the history of the United States.

For several years there has been a growing awareness of the irrationality of piling up nuclear overkill power: we can now deliver 6 tons of TNT equivalent per person on the planet. No one is about to discover how to kill people or destroy communities more than once. Nevertheless, the spending of as much as $22 billion a year for the further pileup of overkill power continues. This military irrationality, particularly in the hands of a Secretary of Defense who practices "cost effectiveness," defies explanation by ordinary criteria. Once, however, we understand the functioning of the Secretary of Defense as an important member of a state managerial complex that accumulates decision power, then the continued spending of additional billions for overkill is explicable. These billions of annual spending maintain control over a great network of subsidiary firms with millions of employees. By the test of military efficiency the overkill expenditure is preposterous. By the test of servicing the decision-power requirements of the state managerial complex the overkill expenditure is sensible.

The power drive of the federal Executive is not a "plot." Rather it is a consequence of a built-in profession-

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al-occupational criterion. A manager who refuses to enlarge his decision power or who acts to diminish such power is regarded as aberrant, hence incompetent.

War making abroad and war preparation at home are emphasized by America's state managerial machine, as against civilian-productive activities, not only because of received ideological and power conflicts, but also because the military operations are the ones that least collide with existing civilian firms—while producing maximum extension of new decision power, at home and abroad.

This professional occupational imperative for wider (successful) managing, and not a failure of individual intelligence, helps to explain the insistent preoccupation of the federal Executive with military-based policies at home and abroad. It is this occupationally-based priority which biases senior officials against considering alternative, but less power-extending, policies at home and abroad. Once great managerial bodies are set in motion along conventional power-extending lines, it is not feasible for single individuals to turn them aside by their own decision. For in that case the single individual is resisted by the managerial hierarchy as a whole as an aberrant type.

The state managerial machine has a selective preference for problem solutions that also serve to extend their decision-power over people. For example: many alternatives have been proposed for operating a military draft; from the whole array of possibilities, Robert McNamara selected the idea of universal service. Such a system would end the discrimination in Selective Service based upon deferring university students. The universal service proposal would also give McNamara and his associates control over the use of about five million young men at a time—at home and abroad. Independently of whatever motivation might have moved Mr. McNamara to this proposal, one *effect* is predictable: it spells an enormous extension of Administration decision-power over our lives!

Again, this sort of behavior of the U.S. government's top managers does not reflect a "plot." Rather, the powerful thrust for ever more managerial control is the normal, proper behavior for the chiefs of great managerial hierarchies. What is new is that the men at the top of the federal Executive have also become the direct managers of their own economic-industrial empire. To the extent that they bend their political choices to serve the managerial extension requirement—to that extent are the foreign and domestic policies of the U.S. government driven in a war-like direction.

The normal functioning of the state managerial complex in the United States government is thus a prime source of sustained concentration of American policy abroad on military-based strategies, and of the priority that is given at home to military industry, military technology, military organization, military ideology, and to political ideology in support of all these activities.

Changing Priorities

These analyses suggest two critical requirements for moving our country toward peace. American pro-people and pro-peace politics must proclaim first priority in the use of money and manpower for the pressing needs of our own people. The big cities of the United States, where two out of three Americans live, are concentration points of physical deterioration and pressing race problems. In order to repair urban deterioration, and to bring equal economic opportunity to all our people, the American people require at least $55 billion a year of *additional* annual investment for their most pressing needs: $15 billion per year to eliminate slum housing, $8 billion per year to raise the level of health services, $25 billion per year of additional education spending, and $7 billion more per year for city transit and water supplies. Assuming $8,000 as the average cost of a man-year of work, these productive capital investments will generate more than 6 million new civilian jobs.

This priority policy means that: Watts comes before Vietnam; Harlem comes before the space race; the South Side comes before an antiballistics missiles system; Detroit and Oakland come before overkill. First priority for equal economic opportunity for our people means that ending the slums, medical care, good schools, and job opportunities for our own people are more important than bolstering dictators in Vietnam. The future of America will be decided by the way we cope with the pressing problems of our great cities—where most of us live—regardless of what happens in Vietnam.

First priority for our own people has vivid meaning in every great metropolis of our country. New York City alone, for example, needs more than $4 billion a year for each of the next ten years if it is to do a serious job of replacing its abominable slum dwellings. Bringing education and health care in the city up to a reasonable standard will surely cost at least $1 billion more per year. In 1966-67 the whole city budget amounts to $4.5 billion. So New York City alone needs $5 billion more per year for the most essential needs of its people.

Where can the money come from? Right now there isn't a chance of getting this sort of money from increased taxation. Money of this amount must come to the City by transferring taxing power that has been arrogated by the

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federal government, back to the City to be used for its purposes. The basic needs of the nation's large cities require at least $55 billion of new money for housing, education, and health. Therefore federal taxes should be reduced $55 billion, with that much taxing power to be tapped by our cities and states.

I am not implying that the federal government be left without responsibility for domestic economic development. On the contrary, the federal government is needed to sponsor economic development for the Appalachias and the Mississippis and other areas that are unwilling or unable to initiate constructive development for their people. But this is not the condition of the great cities of the United States. Here there is sufficient talent for doing the necessary work—provided that the taxing power now held by the federal government in the amount of at least $55 billion a year is freed to be used by the governments of the great cities for priority economic purposes.

This reduction could be done over a five-year period, in annual increments of $5, $7.5, $11.5, $14.0, and $17 billion. Under the Constitution (Art. 1, Sec. 10) the governments of the states (and cities) are forbidden to make foreign treaties or to raise armies. The governments of the cities and the states may not commit our men and money for the support of foreign dictators or for foreign military adventures. No city or state government is empowered to establish a C.I.A. abroad. With one stroke the act of reducing the federal money power would make possible constructive economic development in our great metropolitan centers, while also reversing the dangerous accumulation of decision power by America's state managerial machine. (Many Americans will have to revise their view of the proper role of federal government. During the 1930-1950 period the issue about government was: should federal power be used as an instrument of community responsibility to look after people or institutions that could not help themselves? Today, the issue is: how much centralization of power is compatible with freedom in society?)

New priorities for America, and the decentralization of government power to implement them, are natural attractions for the mayors of Metropolis and for the tens of millions of citizens who require that we stop the deterioration of our cities and give first place to fulfilling the promise of equal opportunity for all our people.

Once new priorities have been determined and the means for implementing them have been agreed, then it will be possible to formulate and implement allied policies at home and abroad that are consistent with these new priorities. The military budget can be reduced. International, controlled disarmament will be encouraged. The United States, with constructive policies at home will be able to share in the support of economic development, instead of dictators, abroad.

These two proposals are part of the same policy: giving new hope for peace—for life and liberty in this land.

The Church in Poland

CARDINAL AND COMMISSAR

ADOLPH SCHALK

Since the beginning of the millennium celebrations on May 3, wave upon wave of government-inspired harassments have accompanied nearly every public religious ceremony. Small wonder that Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the primate of Poland, should reply to each new affront with increasing bitterness and indignation, as the regime in turn retaliates with still another denunciation.

The modus vivendi that seemed so promising just a few years ago has deteriorated. Even an open Church is hard put to carry on a dialogue with closed Communists. At the same time, nothing is more unrealistic, not to say naive, than to attempt to explain away the Polish conflict as simply an example of Communist intransigence against the Church. A dialogue or accommodation with Communists does not necessarily mean that even a brotherly confrontation can be expected on the Church's terms, or without attempting to grasp in all its profundity the partner's point of view, even one which may be wrong.

When the Polish bishops, no doubt deeply imbued by the spirit of the Council, initiated the now-famous conciliatory exchange of letters with the German bishops, they unleashed the fury of the Warsaw regime. To understand why this gesture of Christian forgiveness created such a stir, one must realize that the German question is by far the most emotional issue that exists for the majority of Poles, who vividly remember the Nazi atrocities in their land and the six million of their countrymen who died in World War II. It is safe to say that the majority of older Poles were mystified and even dismayed by the bishops' reconciliation.

At Gdansk (Danzig) this June, some 1,000 Catholic

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youths tore down and burned anti-religious posters and signs after Cardinal Wyszynski delivered a sermon in St. Mary's Church, including one which bore the words, "We do not forgive," and another which condemned the late German bishop of Danzig, Karl Maria Splett, who spent eight years in prison for alleged Nazi collaboration.

Few outsiders realize how intense and ingrained is Wladyslaw Gomulka's distrust and resentment of the West, of the Federal Republic and even of East Germany. In spite of the relaxation of the cold war, at least in Europe, and of significant changes in the world, the Communist party chief has held stubbornly to this position. Veteran observers concur in the belief that he has lost touch with contemporary reality. More than any other factor, this passionate resentment underlies his abiding and patriotic commitment to the world Communist movement and loyalty to the Soviet Union.

The reconciliation was especially resented by the regime because it directly opposes a conscious anti-German propaganda policy that has systematically kept alive the specter of German "revanchism." The regime reacts almost hysterically to anything that might even remotely weaken its claim to the controversial former German Oder-Neisse territories acquired from Germany as a result of World War II and comprising about a third of present-day Poland. Through its anti-German propaganda the regime is desperately trying to keep intact the one emotional bond that it shares with the people, to please the Soviets, and to justify a pro-Soviet policy to a predominantly anti-Russian population. It cannot afford to abandon this policy without undermining its authority which, for all practical purposes, it shares with Cardinal Wyszynski.

What rankles Gomulka most is Cardinal Wyszynski's deliberate efforts to keep alive among Polish Catholics, who still comprise more than 90% of the population, the age-old tradition of spiritual and cultural attachment to the West. The theme propounded by the Cardinal that probably aggravates Gomulka more than any other is that Poland remains "the bastion of Christianity" in Godless Eastern Europe.

"How blind the leader of the Polish episcopate and his supporters must be," shouted Gomulka at a rally in Poznan on April 17, "to launch the anti-national idea of the bulwark of Christianity tantamount in our times to sowing discord between the Polish and Soviet people, to breaking up the Soviet-Polish alliance, to erecting a wall between Poland and the Soviet Union, to a new catastrophe for Poland.

"We felt that it would be an expression of the acceptance of this harmful policy to express agreement of the Polish government to the arrival of the Pope . . . Therefore the Polish government . . . did not give permission to the invited to attend."

The clear implication the Communist leader draws from Wyszynski's thesis is that the Polish episcopate, led by the Cardinal, must play its historic role as the principal rallying point against incursions from Russia, whether they be the heathen Tartar, backward Muscovite, avenging Cossack or today's Soviet hegemony.

Once this is understood it immediately becomes clear why the regime is so emotionally disturbed by the millennium celebrations: The whole history of Christianity in Poland is primarily the story of her struggle for emancipation from the East. Indeed, Christianity in Poland began in 966 with the baptism of King Mieszko I, an act that automatically allied him with the German Emperor Otto I who, as successor to Charlemagne, saw it as his duty to defend the Christian nations against the heathen Slavs from the East.

Clearly the regime's charges that the Polish episcopacy has "meddled in politics" and "endangered Polish-Soviet relations" are unjustified. Nor has there ever been any doubt that the Cardinal and the entire Polish hierarchy support the government's claim to the Oder-Neisse line. But many loyal Catholics, including leading clergy and laymen, have begun to question the wisdom of the Cardinal's approach to the regime. They point out that his whole manner and tone is needlessly belligerent and provocative and that the time has come for a more transcendental approach that is neither pro-East nor pro-West. Even within the Church's own sphere, they sadly admit, very little has been done officially toward improving relations with the religious minorities in Poland, notably the Orthodox Church, a move which would give lie to Gomulka's accusation that the Church shows little interest for the Soviet Union and the East.

Coexistence and Dialogue

The most outspoken proponent of the Polish hierarchy for a greater tolerance, coexistence and a dialogue with the Communist regime is Archbishop Boleslaw Kominek of Wroclaw. In a number of interviews with western newsmen he has gone on record to say that the Catholics of Poland want to "radiate peace between East and West, between Slavs and Germans, between Communist and other countries."

The Archbishop's views are especially significant because his see, Wroclaw, which is the Polish name for Breslau, is in the heart of the Oder-Neisse territories, and because he is one of the prelates most often mentioned as a second cardinal possibility. If such predictions should prove true, this could profoundly change Church-State relations for the better.

Unfortunately, the regime has exploited some of the Archbishop's recent remarks in such a way as to attempt to drive a wedge between him and the Cardinal, twisting them to imply "diametrical opposition" to the Cardinal who, according to the Warsaw daily *Zycie Warszawy*, is attempting to "clericalize the State." All demands for religious freedom, stated an editorial, could be taken

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under consideration if they were not destroyed by Wyszynski's "political, anti-State actions." As a result, even those bishops who lean toward Archbishop Kominek's more open approach to the regime, have joined him in closing ranks in unmistakable solidarity with the Cardinal. Nor did *Zycie Warszawy* publish an open letter that Archbishop Kominek sent in reply, in which he stated that the entire episcopacy advocates an open, honest dialogue with the government, and that Poland should follow the example of Yugoslavia which has just resumed diplomatic relations with the Vatican. "There is no dictatorship within the episcopacy," the Archbishop wrote. "The Cardinal is quite willing to go along with the consensus of the bishops." On July 17, Kominek asked priests to boycott a government-backed project to erect a memorial to Pope John XXIII in Wroclaw. The ceremony, a laying of a monument cornerstone, is part of the millennium celebrations, but the Archbishop said "it is not a symbol of the holy unity of Christ's Church in Poland." The memorial project was organized by pro-government priests.

A Symbolic Opposition

Perhaps the most important movement in Poland is the *Znak* (The Sign) association of laymen. Maintaining intellectual centers in Warsaw, Cracow, Posen, Wroclaw and Thorn, the group sponsors a book publishing house and the influential weekly newspaper *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly), edited by laymen and editorially comparable to COMMONWEAL. Although they sometimes have sharp differences with Cardinal Wyszynski (he once rebuked them for publishing an article by Father Hans Küng), they are essentially loyal to him. In a special millennium issue, *Tygodnik* called for a separation of Church and State, an abandonment of traditional efforts for Church privileges, a sincere dialogue with the regime and an abandonment of the concept "Christian bulwark against the East."

Znak's great achievement is the successful election of five of its members in the *Sejm* (parliament), notably Dr. Stanislaw Stomma, chairman of the *Znak* association and professor of criminal law at the University of Cracow. This is a pitifully small representation among the 460, mostly pro-regime representatives, but just by their very existence the five lonely men make up something unique in the Communist world—a symbolic opposition. While they are virtually helpless in passing important legislation, the opposition does serve a useful function to the regime as a safety valve, and to the Church as a de facto representation of Catholics carrying on a continuous dialogue with the regime.

"It is not in general session that our work is accomplished," Dr. Stomma, a small dapper, energetic man, told me during a train interview from Czestochowa to Warsaw, "but in committee. Many a Communist parliamentarian who wouldn't dare oppose the regime in general session, which is open to the public, will go a long way toward understanding our point of view in closed committee meetings. After all, they are men of flesh and blood and one cannot go through life on the assumption that all Communists are either stupid or malicious."

Recently the *Znak* group in a parliamentary interpellation called for the establishment of a special Church-State commission devoted to easing the conflict and to the "intensification" of talks between Poland and the Vatican. But the Church-State conflict is only a part of the crisis now confronting the Polish Church. There is a very real danger that it may become so preoccupied with its relations with the regime that it will overlook the staggering problems of an overwhelmingly peasant-orientated Church in a country that only recently has discovered the twentieth century.

I have never seen any religious gathering more moving than a pilgrimage I participated in at the monastery of Jasna Gora (Shining Mountain) in Czestochowa. Many of the peasants in their regional costumes and covered wagons, some of them dragging life-size crosses like Simon of Cyrene, looked like extras in a Tolstoy movie. But as I watched them at length I couldn't help but wonder at times where the superstition ends and the faith begins. It is true that the churches, even on weekdays, all over Poland are filled to overflowing. But it is hard to avoid the suspicion that for many Poles veneration of that painting is more important than the Mass or the Eucharist, or, for that matter, God.

One wonders how long such a faith can withstand the impact of modern life and the rapid sophistication of a growing urban population, a faith that is obviously geared to the rural mentality of the last century. Will the younger generation of Poles, already initiated into the thrills and delights of American fashions, movies, plays, fast motorcycles, night clubs and technology, accept a faith that is so intricately and profoundly associated with a legend-as-well-as-jewel-studded Ikon? It is highly doubtful that this painting, which one legend says was executed by none other than St. Luke himself, and another that it miraculously repelled the Swedish invaders in 1655, can indefinitely remain the heart of Catholic dynamism in Poland. Historically and emotionally it may remain the spiritual center of the country's Catholics, but there are signs already that the Church is in for a rude awakening if it clings to its peasant structures and approach.

In Warsaw, just to give one example, Sunday Mass attendance has dwindled to 25%. And both the regime and the Church are concerned about the swift rise of the divorce rate. Since 1945 the number of divorces in the practicing Catholic country par excellence has risen from 11,000 in 1950 to more than 21,000 last year.

"We came," several scoffing teenagers told a reporter at the millennium celebrations at Czestochowa last May, "to see why so many people felt they had to be here. We still don't know."

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A road to identity?

BLACK POWER

FRANK MILLSPAUGH

Were I to join with a group of friends to build a furnace and a boiler and to announce, "We plan to produce steam power," few people would notice and fewer care. Public indifference would be equally great were we then to secure a river site and a generator and announce, "We are going to develop electrical power." But suppose we were to open a store front office in a Negro ghetto, secure a mimeograph machine, and announce, "We are going to develop Black Power." Then we would get some attention.

Black Power: immediate D. W. Griffith images amounting to a nationwide Watts riot, directed, if not written, by LeRoi Jones. This has been the nature of the popular response to the new slogan of the Student Nonviolent Coodinating Committee.

Upon his accession to the chairmanship of SNCC, Stokely Carmichael announced the new doctrine of Black Power, and the press immediately warned the public that SNCC was repudiating nonviolence, that it had become "racist-in-reverse," "separatist," and "black nationalist," that white SNCC workers were to be "purged," and that Carmichael's replacement of John Lewis as chairman generally reflected a shift from moderation to extremism, from coalition politics to radical (read vicious) activism, and from "love-thy-neighbor" to "hate whitey."

None of this bore much relation to the realities of SNCC that I had perceived. The rampant Mau-Mau described in the press did not much resemble the Stokely Carmichael I had known two years ago, nor did the peaceful, moderate image seem to fit the John Lewis I'd known since 1963, when he became SNCC's third national chairman. In fact, Lewis' statement reported in news stories as condemning Black Power did not mention the subject. In a conversation as recent as July 20, he said to me, "I support the concept of Black Power and I have tried to repeatedly to articulate it to people in terms they can understand, so that they will know it is for civil rights, not against whites. I don't use the term itself so often, but that's all I've been talking about all along."

However, the rumors and charges were having a decided effect. On Long Island, just for one example, a major benefit for SNCC, sponsored by the liberal Jewish community, nearly folded because so many individuals and organizations were frightened off by the specter of black racism. Leadership in other civil rights organizations were jostling each other in the lines that formed for disavowal of the Black Power policy and its enunciator, Stokely Carmichael.

Recently, I had an opportunity to have a lengthy conversation with Carmichael, and it considerably reassured me—about Carmichael if not about the American press and the liberal community. Carmichael seems as little inclined today as he was two years ago to espouse black supremacy or race warfare. He was surprised and angry at the treatment he and the Black Power doctrine had received. "The press has been red-baiting us all this time," he observed, "and now they are black-baiting us."

What does "Black Power" mean? *Power* means simply the ability to do work, and *work* means overcoming resistance. This is as true in politics as it is in physics. *Black* is a color, not a moral property. In this context, it means *black man*, not black magic.

Toward Political Power

It has been SNCC's not very original observation that Negroes in the South do not have political power commensurate with their numbers, SNCC further believes that if Southern Negroes had such political power, their needs for employment, better education, equal protection, and other amenities of modern life would be more rapidly and adequately met. Therefore, SNCC is attempting to create political units, based on Negroes' aspirations and depending on Negroes' support, which can become factors in political bargaining situations. This attempt to work in Negro communities to achieve a unified political constituency is an attempt to give these Negro communities a measure of political power in the affairs of their communities. SNCC calls this Black Power.

This seems as American as apple pie, much more pacific than the Fourth of July, and it is perfectly legal, even in Alabama.

It is in Alabama that SNCC has made its first major efforts at developing Black Power. There SNCC workers helped to found the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, popularly although inaccurately known as the Black Panther party. This more popular name is the result of a peculiarity of Alabama law.

Alabama law requires that every political party have

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a pictorial symbol to aid voters in identifying candidates. The symbol of the Alabama Democratic Party, for instance, is a white rooster. The symbol of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization is a black panther. Why a black panther? For one thing, SNCC feels that the panther "represents the strength and dignity of the new Negro." Further, it may be noted that the panther is an animal indigenous to Alabama and other portions of the South. Also, considering party competition, it is amusing to raise a panther as an alternative to a chicken. Finally, and probably self-sufficiently, the black panther symbol was one the Negroes of Lowndes County decided they wanted.

For reasons best understood by psychoanalysts and partisan propagandists, white southerners and the national press have seized upon the symbol rather than the reality, and they constantly refer to the "Black Panther Party." Then, ascribing attributes to an organization which exists only in their own imagination and fears, they cite the creation of such a party as evidence of a growing and dangerous tendency of SNCC to violence and vengefulness.

More disturbing to SNCC is the lack of support the Black Power doctrine has received from the leadership of other civil rights organizations. NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins has taken every opportunity to denounce the doctrine as a "reverse Ku Klux Klan," maintaining that Black Power "can mean in the end only black death." He has not yet accounted for the abnormally high incidence of black death in the absence of Black Power.

Martin Luther King has also conjured the racism-in-reverse specter, asserting that the "use of the phrase gives the feeling that the Negro can go it alone and that he doesn't need anybody but himself. We have to keep remembering that we are only 10 or 11% of the population." Negroes may comprise only 10 or 11% of the national population, but they constitute a considerably larger percentage of Lowndes County and many other southern political districts. In these areas, they not only can "go it alone," they have got to if they are going to go it at all.

Former national director of CORE James Farmer balances his criticism as nicely as be balances phrases. He objects to the term, because "the slogan 'Black Power' is misleading." However, if the slogan is properly understood, "America's Negroes will at long last be reaching at the jugular of oppression." His statements are perhaps less a balance than a see-saw.

There has been considerable speculation as to the degree to which these attacks are motivated by organizational competition for financial support and membership. There would appear to be little merit to this line of thought. The two organizations most critical—NAACP and SCLC—have few grounds for self-serving competition with SNCC. Both are very wealthy, while SNCC is poor, and neither SCLC nor SNCC are membership organizations.

Stokely Carmichael probably came close to an explanation when he refused to respond to the attacks with further name-calling: "I'll never criticize the program of another civil rights organization," he said, "because I know how hard it is just to keep track and understand everything happening in my own." It is what is happening in each man's own organization that largely accounts for the attacks.

Roy Wilkins runs a top-down organization which carefully disciplines the occasional militants like Robert Williams for fear that this element, which has sizeable although suppressed support, will jeopardize the NAACP's hard won and long nurtured status in Washington, D.C., and other seats of power. It is an organization primarily geared to the aspirations of the Negro middle class and funded by it. Militancy outside the NAACP encourages its expression within and thus endangers the organization's identity and stability.

Dr. King, who himself lacks any sophisticated political analysis, is his entire organization. Often for better, occasionally for worse, the cult of personality is absolute in the SCLC, and King's personality is absolutely committed to spiritual love, not political power—certainly not a political power which in any way mitigates the universality of his message.

James Farmer's straddled stance is precisely what brought about his long sought resignation from CORE last year. The badly split organization is now achieving an internal consensus, and that consensus endorses SNCC's policy of Black Power in the Lowndes Counties of the nation.

Lowndes County

The population of Lowndes County, Alabama is 21,000, of which 80% is Negro. It is a wealthy county: the average annual income for white families is about $8000. Negro families make one-eighth of that figure. There are four high schools: two for the whites and two for the Negroes. The Negro high schools are in poor condition, and of course, since they must accommodate four times as many children as the white schools, they

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are terribly overcrowded. No Negro occupies any elected or appointed positions in the county government. Integration in Lowndes County consists of five Negro children in the white schools; registration of Negro voters has been about equally massive. Through a deliberate policy of eviction, foreclosure, employment blacklisting, and physical harassment, the white supremacist elements have forced so many Negroes to leave their homes and the county that the Negro population has slightly declined in the last three years.

This is the context in which SNCC formed the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. On May 3, 1966, the LCFO held a public meeting attended by nearly 1000 Negro residents of the county. Their decision was to nominate independent candidates to run for election next November rather than to participate in the Democratic primary being held that same day. In Alabama, this is an either-or choice, because a person may not vote in the primaries of more than one party. To have participated in the Democratic primary would have given the state an excuse for invalidating the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Many commentators have viewed this choice as a form of separatism, a rejection of the strategy of forming progressive coalitions to work through and influence the available structure of the Democratic Party, and most importantly, a repudiation of white moderate elements within the state—a repudiation which inadvertently plays right into the hands of the segregationist elements. The Negroes, these commentators say, should have stayed within the Democratic Party structure, found bases of coalition with groups like the labor unions, and supported men like Richmond Flowers in the Democratic primary.

Few of these commentators do intensive civil rights work in the South (although some are known to fly to Jackson or Montgomery for the conclusion of a mass march), so it is difficult to tell how well their point of view was represented in the debates within the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. It is not so difficult to understand that Lowndes County Negroes have little affinity for the Democratic Party as it exists in their state and county.

For the Negroes of Lowndes County, the Democratic Party is the party of George Wallace, of Al Lingo, of Sheriff Jim Clark. All are important men in the state structure of the party. In Lowndes County one of the most important people in the county structure of the party is Hulda Coleman, Superintendent of Education in a school system designed to perpetuate illiteracy and powerlessness among the black citizens. Her brother, Tom Coleman, is another important person in the county structure of the Democratic Party. He is believed to have murdered a Haynesville Negro, John Daniels, and he was identified by the victim as the person who shot Reverend Morrisoe last year. Lowndes County Negroes are understandably skeptical as to the efficacy of trying to work through this structure. Carmichael observes that it is a little like "urging Jews to join the Nazi party."

The alternative strategy developed by SNCC and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization is to develop strong, independent structures in the counties with a majority Negro population. If this is accomplished, the independent structure will have a sufficient power of at least an obstructionist value in the county offices and possibly in the state legislature that the Democratic Party will be forced to offer political concessions. With that kind of power, representatives of Negro interests will be able to sit down at the bargaining tables with demands backed by strength rather than requests supported by supplications.

Far from being separatist and anti-coalition, the strategy of Black Power may finally create a situation in which coalition can take place. At present, the doctrine of coalition is an evasion of the facts. There is no one for the Negroes to coalesce with. Organized labor in the rural South is very weak, much weaker than the civil rights movement. Furthermore, the white laboring class is almost unanimously opposed to any relationship of equality with Negroes. The white moderates, so touted by *Time* and *Newsweek* are very few, as evidenced in the poor showing Flowers made in the Democratic primary. In any event, the white moderates are very moderate and very white. Their policies are geared to avoid political upheaval, not to bring sweeping and rapid justice in the South. Nor would their election to office do anything to assuage the greatest single liability of southern Negroes: the gnawing inbred suspicion that they really are unqualified to make important decisions for themselves and must depend, in the end, on the benevolence of whites. This important psychological factor is the rea-

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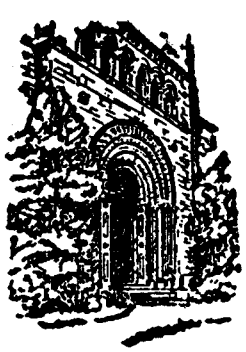

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son SNCC prefers to use only Negro field workers in Negro communities.

At present, there is no truly progressive force of any significance in the Deep South other than the Negroes. Therefore, there is no basis for coalition. The potential for such a coalition lies with the thousands of impoverished whites in the South, people whose only claim to manhood has been the ability to kick niggers. These poor whites are already beginning to note that the Negro is changing, that he is not taking the beating anymore, and that his resistance is gaining at least some reward. Eventually, the poor white may come to realize that there are some issues beyond black and white, issues such as the fact that in the richest country in the world, he makes five dollars a day and lives in a shack; that he has to promise his vote to a wealthier man so that men won't kick him off his farmed-out land or fire him from a job that barely pays a living wage. Because that's the life of a southern poor white, and when he realizes that Negroes are improving their lot through political organization and economic demands, he may start doing the same.

Without constructive leadership, of course, the poor whites may simply organize larger Klan chapters that will join robbery to killing. SNCC hopes to provide some of the needed leadership. Jack Minnis, a white member of SNCC's Central Committee, is attempting to utilize white volunteers in a project to organize poor whites around economic issues. Many white students associated with SNCC have been recently engaged in more moderate projects in white communities either with the Southern Student Organizing Committee or as organizers under union auspices. It is anticipated that these students will bring new skills and insights back to SNCC for application to the problems of poor whites.

This effort has not yet begun. SNCC is just starting to accumulate the personnel and resources needed to start the project, and SNCC leadership knows that such a program will meet obstacles possibly greater than those in organizing the Negro communities. The project quite possibly can not be undertaken by SNCC in its own name, for the SNCC label is a great liability in the white community.

SNCC is not racist, but it is certainly not color blind. Its people could not work effectively in the South if it did not recognize and deal realistically with the facts of race as they are found there. Thus, SNCC has found that it is more effective to use Negro field workers to organize Negro communities, and it is hoped that white field workers will be able to at least begin organizing in poor white communities. SNCC sees Black Power as an introduction to popular power.

We may all regret that such things tend to be broken down on a color line, but that is not the fault of SNCC; it is the responsibility of the whole country. As Stokely Carmichael observes, "Mississippi and Alabama existed long before SNCC."

TEA IN DARJEELING

THE SCREEN

Wise indeed was the choice of Satyajit Ray's "Kanchenjungha" as the film shown with the other arts in the *Festival from India* held in New York last month. That Ray is an artist few would deny; his "Apu" trilogy is considered a masterpiece of cinema and has so often been acclaimed that many Americans think he is the only Indian film maker. He is not, but he is by far the greatest in a country that turns out many movies a year. And his "Kanchenjungha," made in 1962 and now being shown here for the first time, is another of those minor gems that keeps Ray's name among the greats throughout the world.

This is Ray's first feature film in color, which he uses not with the flamboyant style and verve employed by Fellini and Antonioni in their first color features but to add beauty to his seemingly-simple story in which the costumes, old and modern, and the place settings are so important. Satyajit Ray, obviously a man of all arts, produced, directed, and wrote the original story and screenplay for "Kanchenjungha." He also arranged the music and painted the utterly charming pictures used under the opening titles and credits. Once again his film's theme is changing India, after independence, and the thinking of a rising generation. Using a simple plot as he has done before, Ray stresses character and the effect people have on each other. His technique derives from such Russians as Chekhov and Turgenev, and while nothing much seems to be happening, all hell breaks loose during the course of one afternoon when a group of people, mostly one family, cross paths again and again, see themselves in new light and react to each other and the place as they change.

The place is Darjeeling, a lovely resort town some 6,000 feet up in the Himalayas, dominated to the north by the stunning 28,000-foot-high Kanchenjungha peaks. Indranath Choudhuri (superbly played by Chhabi Biswas), the pro-British, domineering father, a big-shot back in Calcutta, and his family have been vacationing here for 17 days and are leaving tomorrow. The main point of contention this afternoon is the dictatorial father's insistence that his younger daughter, Monisha (attractive Milima Roy Chowdhury), accept the attentions of a very eligible suitor, a Babbitty engineer for whom the girl does not care. Indranath's complying but wise wife (nicely played by Karuna Banerji, who was the mother in the first two "Apu" films) is quite unhappy about the situation, especially since the marriage of their elder daughter, also arranged by Indranath, has gone sour. Indranath's son-in-law gets the point across that only prestige matters in this house. Indranath's young son isn't concerned with his sisters or anyone except himself and the girls he runs

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around with. Then Monisha meets Ashoke, a progressive young man whose uncle knows Indranath and hopes this Mr. Big will help the lad land a well-paying job in Calcutta.

If you find yourself getting restless and somewhat confused at the beginning of this film, don't despair. As with "The Group" recently, Ray introduces so many characters right off that it is difficult to keep them and their intrigues straight at first. But as the plot and counterpoint get more involved, you become fascinated with these people and their problems; and you also realize that Ray and his characters are much more sophisticated than first appeared on the surface. More important than a few soap-operaish touches are the resolutions as the characters group and re-group on the paths in the park during this afternoon.

Indranath's elder daughter and her husband come to a sensible though unromantic understanding. The mother, convinced that just having to endure life is not enough, instructs her brother to tell Monisha to follow her own heart. After Indranath stuffily lectures Ashoke on how proud he is of himself that he didn't rebel and fight against the British but lived, to help his country in the long run and now enjoy India's independence, the young man realizes what a heartless fraud Indranath really is. Then Ashoke, making the older man furious, turns down the offered job and says he'll get something on his own efforts and ability. The father is further upset later when he sees his pretty, well-dressed daughter laughing and starting with this penniless upstart a camaraderie that may well lead to love.

Interestingly enough, Ray uses many more English speeches in his screenplay than ever before; and the English, well-spoken by his good cast, mixed with the Indian (which is translated in sub-titles) is very effective. But could it be that Ray is using this spoken English as one of the many symbols in his film—like the mist that rolls in from the mountains when the problems are thickest, and the sunshine that comes through when resolutions are suggested, or the watchful Kanchenjungha itself looking so beautiful and mysterious and wise in the finale shots. Perhaps the whole of "Kanchenjungha" is meant to be a parable in which Indranath is the British who dominated India to their own advantage, and Ashoke and Monisha are the new Indians of the poor and rich class, and the other characters are the other Indians who still haven't made up their minds. At the end, Indranath is confused. He knows he can no longer dictate, but he doesn't understand what happened or why. Perhaps the mountain knows. In any case, with or without symbols and fables, "Kanchenjungha" is a handsome movie well worth another passage to India.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

The spirit of Hawthorne's prose

The Sins of the Fathers

FREDERICK C. CREWS

Oxford University Press, $6.75

CHARLES THOMAS SAMUELS

You must *look through the surface of American art, and see the inner diabolism of the symbolic meaning. Otherwise it is all mere childishness.*

—D. H. Lawrence

Lawrence resolved the duality of American literature into a self-affirmation that is nearly solipsistic. Ostensibly a work of criticism, *Studies in Classic American Literature* displaces its meaning no less than the books Lawrence treats. Every black book silvered by the author's wit reflects his image.

Yet for all its self-serving didacticism, Lawrence's study really did begin mature analysis of our classics; he did expose those puerile moral formulations which concealed a collective vision nearly nihilistic in its ruthless probing. Leslie Fiedler's Lawrentian overview of America's fiction is superior to its model: more comprehensive, more sensitive to the text, more coherent in its final formulations. Indeed, the academic community's derision of Fiedler, not thoroughgoing but too widespread, displays timidity, pedantry, and often mere quibbling.

Nevertheless, Fiedler brought it on himself. An exuberance which shades off into misrepresentation, a verve sometimes indistinguishable from sloppiness, a doubtless objectionable sort of covert polemicizing, could only infuriate those whose notion of "accuracy" protects them against the sharper disturbances of thought. Now Frederick C. Crews has written a study of Hawthorne which, though smaller in scope than Lawrence's or Fiedler's works, gives a more convincing version of their Freudian methodology.

Like his forebears, Crews insists that a writer's surface is frequently duplicitous, and he prefers, like them, to explain the duplicity by pulling up its psychic roots. But whereas Lawrence is self-referring and Fiedler scrappy, Crews is careful and dispassionate. With the responsibility of a scholar (acknowledging other critics, citing sources), Crews presents a critically explosive argument. His prose is clear, and vigorous, and his documentation usually irrefutable. When heresy is argued with such orthodox poise, the effect can only be devastating. The old ethical allegorist

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who dramatized the superiority of heart to head, of penitence to sin, and advocated a kind of religious democracy—this Hawthorne, Crews refutes.

"Hawthorne was emotionally engaged in his fiction, and the emotions he displays are those of a self-divided, self-tormented man." Disturbed by sexual fantasies, mainly incestuous, he played out these fantasies in art. At his best, he attributed to his heroes forms of his combined lust and fear of actual flesh, thus transcending his own neuroses by characterizing them. But frequently he could not bear even so partial a confrontation with his own libido and sought escape through suppression.

"In Hawthorne's fiction, however, *suppression* always has the psychological consequences of *repression*: the denied element surreptitiously reappears in imagery and innuendo." More and more, particularly after *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne became dimly aware of the terrible self-exposure in his writing so that what was always a motive for his uneasiness at being an artist became finally the reason why he had, in effect, to abandon art. Crews shows that in the unfinished romances Hawthorne scared himself into creative paralysis and, moreover, that these fragments of a blasted ego structure could have been predicted from any Hawthorne novel except his masterpiece.

The distinguishing feature of this book is a subtlety to textual analysis which exempts Crews from the charge of psychoanalyzing an absent subject. Through the discipline of "new criticism," which Lawrence lacked and Fiedler frequently ignores, Crews draws his essential inferences from the text. At his best, these inferences can only be rejected if one ignores Hawthorne's language.

And Crews has improved on "new criticism." His psychological method implicitly proves what should be now apparent: the new critical disposition to regard a literary work as a necessarily coherent system of meaning and effect is often little more than critical wish-fulfillment. By avoiding any *a priori* notions about Hawthorne's success or failure in a given work and by relating textual inconsistencies to psychological causes, Crews can in one stroke plausibly evaluate and plausibly account for the work's actual achievement.

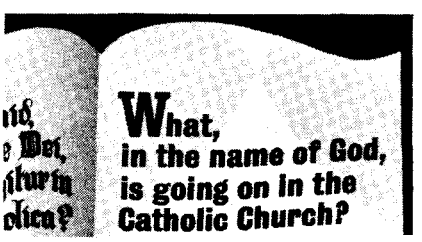
The new critical presumption of coherence was partly a means of validating the claims of art to viable assertions in the fields of ethics and religion. But these claims often constitute mere critical projection, or worse. Thus, Crews is able to show that high-minded critics anxious to find moral orthodoxy and redemptive prophecy in Hawthorne have thereby denied the ugliness of *The Marble Faun*. Crews' method amply demonstrates that Hawthorne's identification with Hilda apotheosizes a disgusting blend of moral irresponsibility and brutally self-protective neurosis. The imagery with which Hawthorne describes Miriam, on the other hand, is often, as Crews asserts, the imagery of *Mein Kampf*.

The chapter on *The Marble Faun* exposes the pretensions to art and morality of a thoroughly despicable book. In discussing "Roger Malvin's Burial," Crews rightfully restores a neglected masterwork. Such evaluations are typical of *The Sins of the Fathers* which, unlike, more grossly Freudian criticism, is marked throughout with aesthetic sophistication and a firm commitment to the primacy of aesthetic value. Crews even escapes the trap which classically awaits ingenious exposers of other men's stratagems: he never confuses the brilliance of his analysis with the quality of his subject. If anything, his admiration for Hawthorne is too austere, too self-abasing. As in his discussion of "Rappaccini's Daughter," he gives us more reason for finding Hawthorne great than he himself acknowledges.

That chapter suggests the book's major flaw. After analyzing the morbid sexuality which Hawthorne both images and stigmatizes, after depicting Hawthorne's "pitiless symbolic anatomy of an adolescent mind," Crews cautions against assuming that Hawthorne stood totally outside his hero. But what difference does this make? If Hawthorne's private fantasies were as urgent as Crews shows they were, it would be too fastidious of us to demand that they be totally purged, fully recognized by means of art.

What makes "Rappaccini's Daughter" a great tale is the extent to which Hawthorne did see Giovanni's destructive longing for desexualized passion, impossibly innocent love. "Our position," Crews states, "is not that Hawthorne approves or disapproves of his driven heroes, but that he is ambiguously involved with them—and that he thereby has an intuitive grasp of their motives." About what deeply vital artist can we say more? All we can legitimately ask is how fully and consistently the author translates his intuitive grasp into speech, action, and gesture which we are free to judge. It is most suggestive that Crews declares his objections to this tale in a single paragraph.

When faced with a work which reveals Hawthorne dominated by his obsession, Crews is brilliant. When faced with a work in which the obsession is clinically portrayed but not overtly rejected, Crews is excellent. In those rare cases, like *The Scarlet Letter* and "My



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Kinsman, Major Molineux," where Hawthorne not only portrays his obsession but relates it to larger issues of politics or morality, Crews is too disposed to deny the degree of Hawthorne's self-mastery in his zeal to establish the continuity between the masterpieces and the lesser, hallucinated works.

I do not mean to suggest that Crews misses the greatness of these fictions. Instead, by emphasizing that their action is interior, he both corrects previous misreadings and displays what is most profound in the text. We have not had anything more subtly and correctly oriented than Crews' versions of the psychological focus of Hawthorne's greatest art.

Yet Crews' vocabulary scants large issues. "The tragedy of *The Scarlet Letter*," he reminds us, "has chiefly sprung, not from Puritan society's imposition of false social ideals on the three main characters, but from their own inner world of frustrated desires." True, Liberatingly true. But the larger point of the novel is that Puritan Boston (and, by extension, any society) provides forms which frustrate desire and others by which the dangers of that frustration may be evaded, while the libidinal stream, blocked or deflected, gathers force in the mind, ultimately to drown the victim.

The terrible irony of the book is that Boston has provided the three principal characters with roles that encourage their bafflement. This is why Dimmesdale's attempts to find punishment through confession are all so pathetic. The Puritan formula equates disburdening of sins with righteousness, which is why Jonathan Edwards could simultaneously record "the bottomless depths of secret corruption and deceit . . . in [his] heart" and act the totalitarian judge not to say the indecently pleasureful detective of vice in others.

I am surprised that Crews, who is a Freudian, does not, in talking of Hawthorne's masterpiece, mention *Civilization and its Discontents*. In how many other novels do we get so brilliant a portrayal of the hostility between society's forms and the wild force of libido? Why else does Hawthorne begin the novel with the symbolic dichotomy of prison and rose bush? The "inner world of frustrated desires" exists in an outer world which exacerbates that frustration by providing social modes that literally dwell upon it.

Crews is right in denying that "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" ends with implicit derogation of the process by which Robin attains maturity. Certainly Hawthorne is describing rather than moralizing. But does this fact prevent us from noting that Robin's maturation and America's revolt against its fatherland combine growth with violence toward others? At the tale's end, Crews says, Robin has simply "undergone the crisis of disrespect that forms the loose social bond among democratic men."

But this is how Hawthorne describes the crowd: "On they went, like friends that throng in mockery around some dead potentate, mighty no more, but majestic still in his agony. On they went, in counterfeited pomp, in senseless uproar, in frenzied merriment, trampling all on an Old man's heart." Crews might argue that these words are dictated by Hawthorne's revulsion at his own hatred for father figures, but the story does make the crowd repelling, and no account of the tale as opposed to the teller can ignore that effect.

But such errors of emphasis are few in number. What Crews does far outweighs what he neglects to do. He has smashed the thin, dull, pietistic Hawthorne of pedestra in critics. Besides giving us insight into his subject, he has restored its power to fascinate, to engage our minds in dialectic both with it and him. This is the definition of first-rate criticism.

Christianity in World History

AREND TH. van LEEUWEN

Scribners, $8.50

ROBERT E. McNALLY, S.J.

Fundamentally this book attempts to specify the major ingredients (Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Islamic and Barbarian) of world history, to trace their development and inter-relations, to interpret the directions in which history has moved and is moving, and to bring it all to bear on the Christian Church "in a planetary world." It encompasses, therefore, universal history reaching from "the birth of Israel amid the nations" down to our own day.

The author's method is historical; his perception is grand, broad and comprehensive. He makes use of anthropology, sociology and theology; and he possesses a fine sense of the genetic development and expansion of cultures. He is discerning in his generalizations. Account is taken of the need of "a fresh confrontation" of the philosophy of history and cultural anthropology; of the need to explore "the historical springs" out of which Western culture evolved; and, finally, of the need to study this civilization in "the total setting of Christian history."

Important to his interpretation of the past are the concepts "theocratic"—the biblical mode—and "ontocratic"—the cosmic mode. The latter, "rooted in ancient Irano-Indian and Mesopotamian traditions," passed on to Byzantium; and for more than a thousand years it influenced the development of the West. In its dark "apprehension of cosmic reality" it has held man entrapped; for in the civilizations which it formed the king is "the cosmic center." Descended from the gods, he is a sacral person, the voice of the deity, the ultimate and the absolute, the absorber and the destroyer of human freedom. The theocratic, "the major theme running right through the Old Testament is that which proclaims the kingship of the Lord and the unremitting struggle against the challenge of the ontocratic state." Its ultimate triumph is Western civilization; and the ultimate triumph in world history belongs to the West. Its theocraticism, the element distinguishing it from the non-Western, ontocratic civilizations (for example, the Eurasian), is the Chi Rho of its victory.

In its deepest meaning Western civilization is inspired by the biblical, theocratic concept, to a lesser degree by Greek reason and intellect. But what is peculiar to Western man depends

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ultimately on his decision to believe in the person of Christ, on faith, therefore, "the crux of which is the Incarnation." This faith which is and has been decisive for the West, is and remains axial. "There is," according to van Leeuwen, "no such thing as the de-Christianization of the West." This judgment will come as a surprise to readers, who have the patience to read this work to the end.

It is a facet of the thesis of this book that the Western World, as it is known today, with its technocracy, nihilism, atheism and secularism, is a product of the preached Gospel. Arnold Toynbee has maintained this. Yet this world is exercising an irresistible (a transforming) influence over the non-Christian nations of the East. The Orient will be occidentalized. Oswald Spengler knew this more than a half century ago. Yet van Leeuwen writes, "the only thing that Christianity could offer India is a secular, democratic state that she already has." This statement, however disturbing to those who stand "in the fetters of sacred tradition" and "build their all" on the Gospel, accords perfectly with the author's sympathy for the creation of a truly secular and man-made order of life. But to what purpose? Are we so sure that this new creation will prove more beneficent than others?

Van Leeuwen seems sure that "religion can no longer sustain itself." I would like to agree or disagree, but I am not really certain as to what he means when he writes this way. At times "religion" is taken as the medieval *corpus Christianum* whose return, of course, no one since the death of Romanticism has seriously envisioned. The passing of the Middle Ages (whose religious character is often distorted) is not a sufficient reason to suppose that religion has passed with it. There is no need, therefore, to argue against religion as "a dominating social pattern." Even the medieval world knew that there was a difference between the religious, the holy, the sacred and the secular.

There is religion and religion and religion. But what is it really? Mrs. Cruncher had her concept of religion; Elmer Gantry had his. Neither need be taken seriously. It is puzzling (even for those acquainted with Harvey Cox's thinking) to read: "In the secularized situation of the twentieth century West we need to clear away, once and for all, any false idea of the Gospel of the crucified and risen Lord as having the character of a religious message." This is puzzling (not shocking) because the term "religion" is equivocal in historical and modern parlance. This is all the more reason why this important concept should be clarified before it is erased. It does not seem proper to accept a distorted, antique or unrefined sense of 'religion," as a lever to displace the reality beyond the concept.

The value of this book is more in its insights than in the solutions which it provides.

Shadow of My Brother

DAVIS GRUBB

Holt, Rinehart, $5.95

Love in the Shadows

W. J. WEATHERBY

Stein & Day, $4.95

MARTIN TUCKER

These two serious works are trying to change the color of a landscape. They are about relations—human relations in terms of the color of one's skin and the hue of one's prejudices. Each is concerned with the growing brutalization of the white man's personality. Each is, I suspect, the work of a man who considers himself a "liberal." And therein lies the rub.

It is fairly commonplace now to read the criticism of black nationalists—and their invectives—against the white liberal whose "understanding" is merely disguised tolerance, or worse, a flatulent fashionableness. Perhaps it is time for the white man to examine the white liberal not because (as the black Muslims say) he is exploiting an issue or being a humanitarian sentimentalist, but because he is not permitting himself to say what he really feels.

For both these books, one a novel and

"...a classic in scholarship, in perception, in style...

KHRUSHCHEV

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by Edward Crankshaw

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the other a reminiscence, suffer from a predictability and a self-consciousness. It is not a lack of sincerity but a lack of naturalness. Ultimately in any book on race relations the issue is black and white, or no color at all. Either the characters care about a man's color, or they do not notice it. If they moralize on it or say one thing and act on another —unspoken but very much heard—belief, they are expressing their own dilemma. It is this dilemma—the land of a vague, shifting point of view—that stalks the pages of these two books. Both Davis Grubb and W. J. Weatherby want so much to do the right thing and have the "decent" belief that they do not see issues. They see merely color and react often in well-sculptured prose, to frozen preconceptions.

Weatherby, for me, is more guilty of a "decent" prejudice than Grubb, whose works exhibit the cherished notions of a romantic, chivalric Southern Gothic past. Weatherby is an Englishman whose feelings on the Negro question were so intense that he quit The Manchester *Guardian* because that paper did not take a strong enough stand on the color issue in the U.S. Weatherby scores the neurotic liberal who, out of guilt for some other wrong, joins the Negro crusade, yet in some measure Weatherby too is trying to assuage a guilty conscience.

Part of that guilt is the lack of fulfillment suffered in a love affair with a Negro girl he met in New Orleans. In the last pages of his memoir, he reveals that the girl died of leukemia, some time after he had lost contact with her. The book is really a love song to her, and to the days that are gone forever. Yet in the early part of the book Weatherby finds it necessary to call this love affair the most "innocent" affair he has ever had. The statement is reflective of a self-conscious man. If Weatherby was (and is) in love with Christina, what difference does it make to him if the world thinks the affair innocent or guilty? Their love should have passed those boundaries long before his book was written.

Love in the Shadows is simple in its line of development compared to Grubb's novel. Weatherby tells of his trail from England to New Orleans, where he was sent to cover the "integration" story, and where he met Christina; then to Mississippi to report on the admission of James Meredith to the University; and finally to New York where he "lost" Christina to the black Muslims in Harlem. Grubb's novel treats some of these same materials.

Both writers deal with the Southern liberal who would like to escape the need for real commitment to the Negro cause, and who at the same time dislikes the rabid prejudices of his Ku Klux Klan compatriots. Both use a "decent" man as their hero; in Weatherby's book it is Weatherby himself who sees the folly of detachment, and in Grubb's novel it is several characters—the grandfather who recognizes that all human beings have dignity and inalienable rights; the boyfriend George who gets caught in the web of protecting the girl he loves and confessing to the witnessing of a brutal murder; the

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daughter Amy who has never faced how "prejudiced" she is; and the aunt, the one who could treat a Negro as her equal, her brother, and her confidant (that the Negro happens to be part Mexican and Indian as well, is an added symbolic device). Grubb and Weatherby also use the same bits of dialogue—the references to Negroes as "boys" or "kids" even though they may be old enough to be grandfathers.

Grubb's novel has come hailed from many quarters, and it certainly shows a stylistic grace. It suffers however from the author's apparent decision to give its characters an easily recognizable identity. Granted the suspense that Grubb can excite, the book is a curious mixture of the real and the adventitious. It has elements that are part of the author's soul—the suspense, the romantic passion, the dark oppressive air of a chase on several levels (the villain-father after the innocent child; the child holding onto his guilt as a prop in the revolutionary spin of his new psychic awareness). These elements come from Grubb's real store of talent: they were present in his first, and still best, novel, *Night of the Hunter*.

Unfortunately this story of a brutal racist who murders a teen-age Negro for "insulting" a white woman also panders to other less reputable fictional devices. These include the standard brothel scene, the standard confrontation of black sexuality with white lust/love/hate, and the patness of a conclusion in which the father finally has the means to destroy his horrible son.

It is a pity that Grubb was not able to avoid this easy descent into the "liberal" point of view. He has tried to capture the view of both sides, but he has also allowed himself to see neither in his crafty popular march to the devices that shape a best-seller candidate. In the end, what he has fashioned is a stylish novel that will convince people again of his skill in the genre of Southern Gothic fiction.

REVIEWERS

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CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 489*)

great bulk of poverty workers are from the poverty groups, so we do provide "money for the poor" in that way—but not for the purpose of income (or handouts) as such.

Secondly, it is indeed ironic that most of the great (and quite traditional) programs that Lens recommends come closer to being "handout" programs than those that OEO runs. Improving unemployment insurance (to which I certainly do not object), guaranteed income with or without jobs, improving social security—these are all income maintenance programs, what many people describe as "handout" programs. So on which side of the argument is Lens really?

My major unhappiness with Lens is that he has failed to grasp the real significance—and the real progress already achieved—of the poverty program. That goes beyond the numbers (although it is not unimportant that we have in fact started to help millions out of poverty) which can be cited in Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps, etc. We may not have shaken up "the establishment" the way Lens would like, but we sure have shaken up a lot of establishments throughout the country.

"How much has it altered the social structure?" he asks in the sub-title of the article. My answer is that a revolution is taking place throughout this country, and Lens just is too blind to see it.

First, we have made the issue of poverty in an affluent America an urgent concern of all America. Lens wouldn't be writing his article for COMMONWEAL if this were not so. Three years ago, people scoffed at the idea of an "other America." Now, at least, they are deeply conscious of this great American default.

Second, we have given a voice and a role to great numbers of poor people who were previously silent and without influence. I am thinking of the 8,000 men and women who serve on community action boards, using their new power to influence decisions previously reserved only for public officials, bankers, businessmen and professionals. I am thinking of the 50,000 poor people now working directly for the poverty programs across the land, giving "non-professional" assistance which frequently is the most important kind. I am thinking of the hundreds of thousands of poor people who have become involved as Head Start parents, as volunteers, as members of protest delegations, as participants in special programs.

Third, we have gotten every social agency and local government program and private organization to take another look at itself. And changes are beginning to take place. Labor unions, social workers, employment service officials, Indian reservations—all are being challenged to change their ways.

Fourth, we have seen vital new programs being enacted to meet the great needs that the poverty program has made more apparent. Federal aid to education, Medicare, rent subsidies, economic development, Great Cities—these and many more are the direct results of the new national climate.

I fear that Lens is so chronically anti-establishment that he refuses to understand what is happening. The poverty program has created a new and vital arena for social change—in which the people themselves participate actively inside the establishment. This doesn't take the place of forces outside the establishment, but we shouldn't confuse the roles. Both are needed. And so are massive programs in all of the fields related to poverty—slums, education, health, etc. But the poverty programs rest on their merit. And there is much merit.

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